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243 much preparing. It is simply a portion of the field swept clean. It is sufficiently hard from the broiling sun, and a stake is driven into the centre of the circle. Two lines of sheaves are arranged round this, head to head, and the grain is trodden out by slow-moving bullocks in good old lazy fashion. The Christian Biblical precept, not to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, does not fail of observance with the Buddhist farmer. Then the paddy, that is, the unhusked grain, is winnowed. In some places hand-winnowing machines of a simple pattern are used; but ordinarily a far more primitive and easy method, corresponding to the substitution of oxen for threshing-flails, is in use. A man stands on an elevated platform and capsizes baskets of paddy brought from the threshing-floor; the rice falls on a sloping bamboo mat and so to the ground, the wind blowing away a great part of the bits of broken straw, chaff, and light grain. The system may not be very thorough, but it saves an immense amount of trouble, which is the chief consideration. All that now remains to be done is to carry the grain off to the big rice-boat lying in the creek. There it is stowed in bulk; and after a day or two, the farmer makes a start, dropping leisurely down through the network of creeks into one of the main streams, and so making his way to Rangoon, or Bassein, whence he will return in a few weeks with fine Chinese neckerchiefs for his daughters and perhaps a gay Manchester paso or two for himself and his sons—unless, indeed, the Madras money-lender has snapped up all his receipts down in town, or some of the robber-boats that infest the creeks at this time of the year have pounced upon him and carried off everything but the boat and the paddles.

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243 427 433 435 Rice-farming would be profitable as well as easy work were it not for the reckless squandering of almost all the cultivators. The average rent per acre is under three shillings; the average produce of the land per acre is from eighty to a hundred bushels in the more fertile parts, while elsewhere the yield is from forty to fifty. The selling price of rice per maund (80 lbs.) in Rangoon is between 4*s.* 6*d.* and 5*s.* Agriculturists, therefore, ought to grow rich. But they are too fond of gambling and building works of merit

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to accumulate money, and their carelessness results in the constant death of their plough-beasts, so that matters usually remain exactly at the same level if the farmer does not actually get into permanent debt. The Scottish Highlanders have a pious wish, "May the free hand always be full!" If it is not always full in Burma it is consoling to think that it is seldom absolutely empty. Still, when the grandson succeeds he ordinarily finds that there is as little actual money hoarded up about the place as there was when the grandfather Po Gyi spent so many borrowed rupees at his uncle's funeral.

If rice cultivation is easy work in the low country, it is very different with the taung-ya, or hill clearings. Here the dense underwood and forest growth has to be cut down; and the more there is to cut the better the crop, for the soil needs fertilising badly, and all that is cut down is burned. Work is begun about January; everything is felled, bushes and all; and after the fallen logs have dried some time in the sun, the brushwood is heaped up round about them and the whole is set on fire. Some of the logs smoulder for weeks —perhaps till the first rains come. Then the ground is rudely dug up with hoes, and the ashes turned in. Cotton-seed is ordinarily mixed with the rice, which is of a quite different variety from that produced in the plains. It is sown broadcast, and the farmer has thereafter only to keep down the weeds, but this is not by any means a light task. The crop is ready by October, and furnishes little more than enough to support the family or community. The scanty manure provided by the wood-ashes is not sufficient to last more than two or three years; and when the crop is secured the party proceeds on to a new settlement, there to repeat the same laborious process. A very ingenious device for lightening the toil is resorted to where there is much heavy timber. Beginning at the bottom, they slightly cut the lowest trees on the upper side only, gradually increasing the depth of the notch as they advance up the hill, until at the top of the clearing they cut the trees completely through. These fall on the row immediately below them, and by their weight knock it down; and so the felling process is continued down to the bottom. Occasionally a tangle occurs

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436 rupees, though the same size as those of the Indian Government, were not in favour in Rangoon. They usually ran to fourteen annas, so that there was a loss of two annas on each. The gold coins were practically not in circulation at all. Englishmen bought them as curiosities in the bazaar and got cheated if they did not carefully ring every one. The smaller ones, struck from the same die as the silver two-anna bit, were principally used by the king to fill silver cups presented to distinguished visitors.

Being derived from the measures of weight, the coins have received the same names. The rupee is kyat, sometimes also called ding-ga, that is, a circular piece of metal, whether a coin or a medal, and the sub-multiples go by the names of the smaller weights: pè is one anna; mu, two annas; mat, four annas; nga-mu, eight annas; thôn-mat, twelve annas; kyat-mu-din, fourteen annas, literally a rupee less two annas; one piece is ti'-bya.

454 The Burmans have no bankers. In native times there were exceedingly few who would have anything to lodge with such a personage. Those who have superabundant coin almost always disperse it in giving a kyi-gyin pwè, or in building a pagoda, a monastery, digging a tank, or some such work of merit. Whatever money there may remain over is turned into use or display in the shape of fat oxen, and silver and gold cups and jewellery. These are pleasant things to look at and easily convertible into money when necessary. Burmans detest hoarding. A miser is threatened with as terrible a hereafter as a parricide. The portion of both is in awidzi, the lowest hell.

181 454 All this sort of thing shows a very unbusiness-like, certainly a very uncommercial spirit, but it is at least open to argument that the Burman is philosophically right. He cares little for the troubles of the world and the manifold questions of the day which distract the more highly cultured nations. His eyes are fixed uninterruptedly on the dark mysteries which surround our beginning, our end, and every moment of our life. The earth is only a camping-ground, in which it does not repay the trouble to establish one's self firmly and comfortably. The rich man carries his gold and silver, the poor his last handful of rice,

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to the pagoda, and deposits it there at usurer's interest for his future home beyond. Let the black coolie of India talk all day and dream all night of his filthy pice; let the greasy Chetty money-lender gloat over his bloated money-bags; let the English merchant delight in all the refined luxuries wealth can bring him: the Burman is content if he has enough to eat and remain a free man, happy if he accumulates sufficient to build a work of merit, or give a free festival to his less fortunate brethren. Who shall say he is not wise?

sufficient food for myself and my family." Yet, it is significant that he[1] manifests no anxiety symtoms, and appears happy and carefree. This suggests that despite the fact that he is presented with insecurity he does not react to it with tensions that have nervous manifestations. The sense of insecurity does not seem to be in his pattern of living, consequently his response is ill-defined.

The points of difference that U Myaing especially emphasised were:-

1. A few weeks of intensive work in Pathwe would get him more than a whole year of salary working in Rangoon.

2. His income in Rangoon is established at a low level. In Pathwe he might make 3 or 4 times his average income from fish products in a good year. On bad years he might just break even. But this did not affect his everyday living quality - since his food was for the most part gathered (fish, fruits etc.) or secured from the cattle loan (baskets of rice).

3. If he was sick in Pathwe his standard of living was not threatened. He made his cash in a short time and had ample leisure for resting. In Rangoon if he does not work he does not eat.

4. In Pathwe he usually had a surplus of 1000 to 1500 rupees on hand during a year. To be lent out (free of interest) to friends and relatives or (usually) invested in fish or family accoutrement. Now he lives from hand to mouth.

5. The loss of comfort and ease is severely felt by the adults. In Rangoon he works to stay alive, in Pathwe, to enjoy a full life.

[1] i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST

461 The key to 26 high positions lies in education in
555 the high schools and Universities. Family support is necessary for
873 this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed
602 for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate
[538] the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.

555 In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities:
777 KAMMA (fate or luck), NYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness
152 The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily,
602 however, KAMMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two credited for success. The concept of KAMMA includes merit and demerit compiled in all previous existences. Because of this convenient excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an advantagous marriage within or above his occupational group.

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556 What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not
554 subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the
461 villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and essentially homogeneous throughout the village.

554 The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major benefits
301 to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to
461 adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies. Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most important is that each female be provided with "a set" of jewelry. The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod the husband until he provides these necessities. The women's clothing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they can afford.

461 The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age
554 security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when
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the husband is too old to work. Aged parents are invariably respected but those who can still support themselves are "worshipped". Parents do not rely on their sons who have their own families to support but feel that their daughters will always "bring them a cup of curry".

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The third urge is to have wealth to donate to the Buddhist church. This is regarded as a sound investment since it not only brings a most satisfying honour especially in old age (to be a "pagoda giver") but also counts as merit credited to the individual's account in eternity.

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Competition is keenly felt between individuals and families of the same occupation group or adjacent groups but not between the lower and upper classes. An exception is where family traditional land has changed hands - and hard feelings may persist. A carpenter's family does not envy and covet the riches of a government official's family. His lot is due to KAMMA and even if he wished to attain such fortune it would be beyond his abilities. More important, it is not expected of him. So the carpenter is content with cheap jewelry for his women and an occasional gold coin - but the pattern is the same as for the upper class. However among the individuals and families of an occupation level there is much rivalry for the benefits wealth can bring. It is a point of pride to have the largest diamonds at a social function, and to give the biggest pagoda. Wives brag that their husbands "prevent the hairs of their hands from singeing" - that they have servants to cook. Rank and recognition are based on these considerations.

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The women of the family exert powerful influence in financial matters and are respected for their sound judgement. Women's occupations include cigar manufacturing, pottery making, and especially shop keeping.

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The beginning of an enterprise is conditioned by the wisdom of the ancients and especially the date and place which are given by formula in the Burmese calendar. There are YWE-NAZA (day king of) "fortunate days" and PYAD-THADA "unlucky days". For example the calendar announces that Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of a particular month are fortunate days to begin enterprises, and other days either unfortunate or neutral. Rangoon sophisticates (but never villagers) tell such stories as this: Two phongyis travelled by boat; the first boarded the boat on a fortunate day to begin travelling. The next day the boat came to the second phongyi's village. This was an unfortunate

These are his "eggs" and it is his duty to guard them while the others cluster around trying to get them away from him without being caught in the attempt. If they are successful in getting all the eggs away they then go and hide them. The "turtle" then has to go and look for eggs while the rest follow her giving encouragement clapping hands and shouting the chant " LEIT U PYU UK LO LEIT MA SHAR THU KHIN HYAR NGO ME NGO MET (Because her eggs are lost the poor female turtle is tearfully looking for them). If the child succeeds in catching any one in an attempt to get an egg away that person becomes the turtle.

In Pathwe they celebrated the water festival, but they did it in moderation and were satisfied if a person got slightly wet. MON-LET-HSAUNG was given in the village.

U Myaing did not save any money in Pathwe. Sometimes he made a great deal of money and sometimes he made nothing at all. Sometimes if he had a lot of money he would loan it out to some one else to be returned in three or four months time if possible. Sometimes these loans continued unsettled for about a year. Only in Rangoon do you have to pay interest. In Pathwe if you did not borrow from chettiars you did not need to pay any interest. U Myaing did not go to the chettiars. He borrowed only from his relatives. There were people who went to raise money from the chettiar money lenders and some of them lost house, cultivation fields etc. because they could not pay the high rate of interest and had the mortgages on their property foreclosed.

Analysis of Social and Ceremonial Activities

The refugee camp may be regarded as a new village composed of families who came from villages in the delta similar to Pathwe but placed in an urban setting. The other refugees have the same understandings as to socio-ceremonial activities as U Myaing and the basic